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TÖS AND *MONCUḲ*

NOTES ON TURKISH FLAG-POLE FINIALS

by
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1. THE PRE- AND PROTO-TURKISH PERIOD

The earliest known Turkish flag-pole finial was the wolf-head (*böri*[1] = wolf). The Turks had apparently inherited this emblem from ancient Inner-Asian nomadic ancestors. The wolf had been a venerable Eurasian zootype and totem of the possibly proto-Turkish Wu-sun.[2] Lupine creatures were frequently represented in works of nomadic art, in the various styles and techniques of the steppes. One prototype appears in Siberia, in the area where the Kïrġïz Turks[3] were later established. The zootype was depicted in a remarkably expressionist manner, with muscular body, bristling fur, lean and flat head, baring its fangs into a snarl (pl. II a, b). Yet, unnatural features and astral ideograms suggested a deified figure. The association of the Siberian wolf figures with ideograms or *tamġas* resembling the astral ideograms[4] used by the proto-Turkish Chou of the first millenary B.C. (1050–249 B.C.) suggests the possible existence in Inner-Asia of concepts of celestial wolves, similar to that of the Chinese celestial wolf constellation[5] or like the Turkish legends, such as the Töles lore of the wolfs, as manifestation of heaven or the Ḫaḳanid *Kök-böri*.[6] The Hsiung-nu and Kushan winged wolf representations and the titulary winged lupine or

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[1] *Böri:* see note 24 *infra*.

[2] The wolf as zootype and totem of the Wu-sun: Ögel, pp. 95–96. The Wu-sun considered Turkish: Shiratori, p. 27. The Huns were called "fox-headed": Granet, p. 327 (n. 4).

[3] The name *Böri* was perhaps that of a Western Hunnic prince: Altheim–Haussig, p. 25. Northern legend of the fourth to sixth centuries on Northerner who erected a Buddhist temple with the statue of a white wolf which had guided him: Soper, *Literary*, p. 34.

[4] The Chou (1050– 249 B. C.) were proto-Turkish: Eberhard, *Çin*, p. 33. The Chou astral emblems: Williams, p. 442.

[5] Chinese Celestial Wolf Constellation: Granet, pp. 537–38.

[6] Töles celestial wolf zootype and Ḫaḳanid *Kök-böri:* see notes 41, 70 *infra*.

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canine busts on the coins of the Alxon[7] support the possibility of the early existence of the legend of the celestial wolf.

The corollary hypothesis of a pre- or proto-Turkish use of the wolf-head as flag-pole finial is rendered possible by the existence at Pazïrïk (fourth century B. C.) and Noin-ula (second to first century B. C.) (pl. IIa) of wooden wolf-head effigies, with holes underneath or on the cranium which might have been hoisted on flag-poles. The developed heraldic style, with schematic and ideogrammatic details of these wolf-heads further support their identification as flag-pole finials.[8] The Hsiung-nu grove of Noin-ula further showed six-petalled metallic solar rosettes (pl. IIc) hoisted on a flag-pole and textile-bags which imitate the body of a scaled animal and its hind-legs (pl. IIb). The lupine mask, the metallic rosette and the textile bag (pl. IIa,b,c) hoisted together on a flag-pole would reconstitute the totemic effigies represented on Central Asian murals of the sixth to eighth centuries (pl. IId,e), the Kök-Türk wolf-pennon equally of the sixth to eighth centuries described in Chinese histories and the *tös*, still in use amongst Inner-Asian Turkish nomads.[9] The *tös*, hitched on a lance, similarly to the *batraḳ*[10] (pennon attached to the lance) consisted in the head of the totemic beast, accompanied with either its hide and tail or by a bag which imitated in coloured pieces of textile, the body of the animal. Both varieties of *tös* are equally attested in ancient artifacts and works of art (pl. IIb,d,e, IVa). Arrian[11] depicted a peculiarity of the bag-shaped totemic effigy, in connection with the serpentine emblem of the Parthians: "At the least movement, the wind filled the textile bags and they took the appearance of live animals. When the movement was increased, the wind produced sounds of whistling."

A second prototype of the Turkish *böri* and *Kök-luu* (celestial dragon)[12] representation, found in the Ordos plaques of *ca* the seventh century B.C., and the wolf representations of Pazïrïḳ and

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[7] Rudenko, *Noin-ula*, pl. XXXVII/2. Similar figure insculpture of Kushan-period Tirmidh: Rempel', pl. XII/2. Busts of winged canine with birdish beak on coins attributed to the Alxon dynasty: Göbl, KM 3, 3a, 3d, 10, 11, 105.

[8] Noin-ula and Pazırık wolf-head flag-pole finials and Noin-ula effigies in the shape of textile bags mentioned by Trever, "Serebriannoe navershie", fig. 1. *Id.*, "Senmurv". Representations: Rudenko, *Noin-ula*, pls. XXXII/2, LIII; Griaznov, pl. 34.

[9] Kök-türk pennon: note 24 *infra*.

[10] Tös: Inan, pp. 42–43. Batrak: see Kāšġarī and Caferoğlu, "baḍruk".

[11] Arrian's depiction: Trever, "Senmurv", p. 167.

[12] Kök-luu: see note 15 *infra*.

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Noin-ula, is the hybrid lupine-dracontine monster. The most evident form of this monster displays a wolf's head united to a serpentine tail (pl. Ia). Some figures called wolves by Rudenko and Griaznov[13] (pl. Ia, top figures; pl. Ib) show unnatural conventionnal features which distinguished fabulous creatures such as the Chinese celestial dragon and the Indian Kushan period *jalebha* (elephant dragon) or *makara* (crocodile dragon). Such are the up-turned spiral-shaped muzzle similar to an elephant's trunk, sometimes reduced to a knob on the upper lip.[14] A possible explanation of this feature which appears both on the dragon and the lupine-dragon is suggested by Chinese lore of the first millenary B.C. in which the celestial elephant-dragon represented the conjunction of the celestial dragons of the four quarters and became the symbol of heaven and of universal monarchy.[15]

Other conventional features which distinguished the celestial Chinese dragon[16] and also the Turkish Kök-luu,[17] from its earthly congeners, which are equally seen in the Ordos and Siberian ancient wolf-representation (pl. Ia, b, IIIa) are the following:[18] horns, or the cranial protuberance through which the Chinese celestial dragon

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[13] Rudenko, "Wolf", pl. 10 and Griaznov, pl. 34 (horned wolf). Shang period blade with wolf-mask and body with dracontine emblem, such as the *yip* (rope in turkish) (see note 19 *infra*): Eberhard, *Cin*, fig. 3. It may be a dragon-blade. Dragon-blades: Granet, pp. 509–261 493–99. Knobbed upper-lip on dragon and wolf masks in the Ordos and Siberia: Rudenko, "Wolf", fig. 10 and *id. Sibirische Sammlung*, p. 35.

[14] Chinese *(Kuei)*: Chêng Tê-K'un, *Shang*, pls. XV/d, XVI/c. *Id.*, *Chou*, pl. 5c. Han dragon: Combaz, fig. 137. *Makara: ibid.*, pp. 136–153, figs. 109, 112, 113. *Jalebha*: *ibid.*, figs. 114, 115. Its explanation as the trunk of the major central celestial dragon with elephant head: Wing Sou-lou.

[15] The azure, red, white, black cardinal direction dragons and the central yellow elephant dragon (imperial emblem and conjunction of all dragons) and their significances insignia of sovereignty in cardinal directions and in the world's conventional center: Wing Sou-Lou. Astrologic significance: Chavannes, *Se-Ma Ts'ien*, vol. I pp. 44 (n), 46 (n. 3), 48.

[16] De Visser, pp. 35–38. Hunnic dragon, astral and dynastic cult: Shiratori. Kök-Türk celestial dragon and ancestor cult in a cave: Liu Mau-Tsai, p. 10, note 60. The Turkish *Kök-luu* as equivalent of one of the cardinal diraction symbols the Azure Dragon: Pritsak, "Qara". The Turkish *Kök-luu* as imperial "*ilig kan atlïğ*" symbol (yellow dragon: see note 17): Arat, 10/35. The Turkish Kök-luu was represented as a yellow dragon. in Central Asian Uygur painting: Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 32. *Evren*, dragon which entwined itself on the ecliptic-wheel of the firmament which bore the constellations and by its movement caused the wheel to turn, is identified to time; in a propitious hour. Evren gives the throne to the Ḫaḳanid king: Yūsuf Ḫāṣṣ Ḥācib, couplets 92,119.

[17] See note 16 *supra*.

[18] See note 13 *supra*.

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was supposed to ascend in the air (pl. Ib); a dented or curly spine, resembling the dragon's spine and attributed in China also to dragon-horses;[19] the *yip*[20] (rope in Turkish) which in an Uyġur text was the emblem of dragons, on either the back or the belly; a scaled body and wings.

An early lupine-dracontine *tös* consisting in a wolf's mask with trunk-like muzzle and a lupine tail, hoisted together on a pole was observed by K. Trever[21] on the arch of triumph erected for Marcus Aurelius, amongst trophies taken in 167 A.D. consequently, from the Teutonic Marcomanni (pl. IVa). Another such *tös* equally represented in Roman trophies taken from the Dacians has perhaps ties with the Iranian *Senmurv* (winged dog-bird), possibly also of Inner-Asian origin.[22] The Dacian tös, like *senmurv*, shows a stump dog's muzzle with bland expression, easily distinguished from the fiercely snarling wolf. Although the dog headed monster with dracontine tail was also adopted as emblem by Turkish princes[23] it may be viewed as a loan-motif whose study would involve a divergent background and will therefore remain outside the frame of this study.

2. *BÖRI* AND *KÖK-LUU* IN THE EARLY TURKISH PERIOD (SIXTH TO EIGHTH CENTURY)

As to the wolf-headed pennon *Böri*, it becomes apparent from Chinese sources that after the sixth century, it was the privilege and in fact the sole right of the two Turkish dynasties of *ḳaġan* rank, who claimed descent from totemic wolf ancestors. These were

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[19] Chinese legend of dragon-horse with curly mane, scaled body, wings: de Visser, p. 57.

[20] *Yip:* Orkun, *Kalyānamḳara*, vols. XL, XLI, LXIII et *seq.* presents an Uygur version of a Buddhist dragon legend. In the city of the "Luu Ḫanï" (dragon-king) the attendant maids twist and decorate with gems the *yip*. *Yip* representations on spine of dragon figures: Kiselev, pl. L/2 (dragon carved on horn from a Turkish grave of the Altay) and Orkun, *Yazıtlar*, vol. I, pp. 85–96; vol. II, p. 40 (Uygur kaġan's stele with edict erected at Ordu-balïḳ and composed in *ca* the beginning of the ninth century by Alp Baġa Tarḳan). *Yip* on dragon's belly: Uygur mural illustrated by Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 32.

[22] See note 7 *supra*.

[23] Göbl, Em. 245 with Turkish titles *Tarḳan-Tudun*, illustr. on Göbl, vol. III pl. 67. This was the name or title of a Turkish prince of the early eight century from Bamıan: Marquart, *Eranšahr*, p. 302. A *tudun* was a Turkish official sent to control lecal Central Asian princes, who were given the title of "*hie-li-fa*" *(ilteber)*: Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 24.

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firstly the A-shi-na (*Čina* = wolf),[24] the lineage descending from a fabulous she-wolf which in a cave of Turfan had given birth to the first members of the dynasty of Kök-Türk celestial *ḳaġans*. The A-shi-na had various branches: a) the principal northern branch reigned between 552–740 in the Altay, in Mongolia and Siberia and extended their power from the Tchili Gulf to the Aral or Caspian Sea, as well as occasionally to Central Asia; b) the Western branch of the same dynasty reigned between 580–658 over the whole of Turkestan and extended their dominions to the Don river, to Kapisa and to Ḫorasan until Merv.[25] c) The Türgiš ḳaġans[26] inherited between 658–766 the dominions of the Western Turks and battled against the Arabs as far as Merv. d) The Yabġus of Toḫaristan[27] issued from the son of T'ung Yabġu of the Western Turks

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[24] Wolf legend on the origin of the Kök-Türk *kaġan* dynasty the A-shi-na (= *Čina* = Wolf: Pritsak, "Ḳara-ḫanlïlar"): Ögel and Liu Mau-tsai, pp. 9, 41. (quotations cited in our text on wolf-pennon of the Kök-türk).

[25] Limits of Kök-Türk and Western Turkish empire: Chavannes, Documents, pp. 226, 229–30, 233, 264 (Merv was frontier). Franke, vol. II, p. 235. Artamonov, p. 518 (east of Don river was the limit of Kök-Türk empire).

[26] See Chavannes, *Documents*, index, "Türgach" and "Basmil". See also Ṭabarī, index, s.v. "Merv" on numerous battles against the *ḫaḳan* (Western Turkish between 580–658 and Türgiš between 658–766).

[27] In *ca* 630 Hsüan-tsang reached, in the kingdom of Houo, Ḳunduz and Balḫ the residences of Tardu Šad, elder son of T'ung Yabġu (the Western Turkish Ḳaġan who conquered Kipin in 600–618: see note 28 *infra*). Tardu Šad's son who bore the title of Tigin succeeded him and took the title of Šad: T. S. Julien. *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang* (Paris 1853), pp. 61–64. The kingdom of Houo was the old land of Toḫaristan: Julien p. 385. In 656–660 the name of the overland of Toḫaristan was "Sha-po-li" Yabġu (same name as the Ḳaġan "Ho-lu" of the Western Turks); in 656, the reigning Yabġu of Toḫaristan was also called A-shi-na, the name of the Ḳaġan dynasty of Kök and Western Turks; in 717, "Ti-she" ("Tïs" in Ṭabarī: see index) who was Yabġu of Toḫaristan and king of Ṣaġānīān, sent the Manichean Ta-mu-shih as ambassador to China: in 705, "A-shih Tigin Pulo", brother of "Ti-shih" had been sent to China. In 742–755 the Yabġu of Tokharistan was called Ḳutluḳ Tardu. The wars with Arabs and Tibetans continued here throughout the eighth century (in ca 726 the Yabġu of Toḫaristan fled from Arabs to Badaḫšan: Fuchs, p. 449); in 727, the Yabġu of Toḫaristan complained that his father was taken prisoner by the Arabs: Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 156 (n. 1), 157 and n. 2, 158 (n), 200, 206. The Arab historians Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr seem to allude to the same event in the history of the years H. 90–91/708–709 (Ṭabarī, vol. II pp. 1206–1219): The "Jabguya" (Yabġu) of Toḫaristan, called šadh (Kök-Türk military title šad; see above title of Tardu Ṣad in 630) was a weakling who was held with a "golden rope" by Tarḫan Nīzak of Badhgīs "and his Turks" although Tarkhan Nīzak professed to be "the šadh's slave". The Yabġu of Toḫaristan, his heir Sol Tarḫan and Tarḫan Nīzak were taken prisoners by the Arabs who killed the

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reigned in areas south of the Soġdian Iron Gate, in the Oxus area and were overlords of the territories down to Herat, between *ca* 600–758. c) The kings of Kök Türk stock, of the Kābul valley (down to the Sind area), of Seistan, of al-Ruhāğğ, of al-Dāwar, of Ġaznah (Zabulistan), of Swat and of Ḫuttal, reported in Kābul in 630 by Hsüan-tsang and in all the other mentioned lands, in 726, according to Huei-Ch'ao, called Türk-šāhī by Bīrūnī descended moreover from a fabulous Böri Tigin (Wolf Tigin), born in a cave, like the half-wolfish legendary ancestor of the Kök-Türk ḳaġans. d)[28] The

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two Tarḫans, but spared the Yabġu who was sent to Damascus which he reached on the year of Hišām's enthronement (724). On further reports of the Yabġus of Toḫaristan until 758 see Chavannes, *Notes additionelles*, index, s.v. "Tokharistan". Mongoloid sculpture *("yeux bridés")* amongst the artifacts of Ḳunduz from the period of Turkish yabġus: J. Hackin "Fouilles a Ḳunduz", *Diverses rechèrches archéologiques en Afghanistan* Méms. de la Déleg. française d'arch en Afgn., VIII (Paris 1959) pp. 19–91, figs. 51, 59.

[28] The geographic localities are identified according to the following sources: G. Cunningham, *the ancient geography of India* (Varanasi 1963), see index or related names. S. Lévi–E. Chavannes, "L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong", *Journal Asiatique* (Paris Sept. Oct. 1895). Chavannes, *Documents* . . . p. 197 (Kök-Türk kings at Fo-li-she-sang-ta-na in *ca* 630 and index of related names). Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Al-kitab u-ṣurat al-arḍ*, French transl. Kraemers-Wiet (Paris 1964). Ibn Hurdhādhbah, *Al-masalık wa al-mamalık* (Leiden 1889). Iṣṭaḫrī, *Al-mamalık wa al-masalık* (Cairo 1961). Abu al-Fidā, *Al-kitāb ı-takvīm al-buldān* (Paris 1890). A. Stein, *Kalhaṇas Rājataraṅginī* (London 1961) notes to IV/142–143 and App. J. Id. "Zur Geschichte des Çahis von Kabul", *Festgruß Roth* (Stuttgart 1893). J. Marshall, *A guide to Taxila* (Cambridge 1960) p. 39. Ḳandahār in Ṭabarī, vol. I, p. 270, events of the year H. 23/645 was the capital og Gandhara: Marquart, index, s.v. "Kandahar". Kābulān-šāh: Ibn Ḫurdhādhbah, pp. 17, 37–39, 243. Iṣṭaḫrī, p. 145: "The kings of the Kābul area, own the land only after their enthronement in Kābul, as such was the tradition of the Šāhī" (the [major] city of Kābul mentioned here, as well as in Iṣṭaḫrī's passage quoted by Yāḳut in art. "Kābul" is Ohind-on the Sind river: see Marquart, index). The Turk-šāhī of Kābul who ruled since the establishment of the dynasty by a fabulous ancestor "Börh Tigin" (Böri Tigin in one ms, according to Prof. Togan's research, *Eftalitlerin ve Bermekilerin menşei* [Istanbul 1965]), who was born in a cave of the Kābul river, all dressed up in Turkish clothes; the dynasty came from Tibet. They revered a statue and temple (K. n. k G. t) in B. r. šavar (Puršuvara = Pešaver, Gandhāra; their emblem was the lance with which they magically drew water, even in the desert; the last Turk-šāhī Lagaturman (Marquart: Lāga Torāmaṇā) was dethroned in their capital Waīhind (Ohind, Udabāṇḍhapura) by their Brahman vizier and rounded the dynasty of the Hind-šāhī, adopted all their insignia, including the trident: Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb fi taḥḳīḳ mā lil Hind* (Hyderabad 1958) passage on Kābulistan. See also Abu al-Fidā, p. 469: "the citadel of the major city of Kābul (Ohind is here meant: see Yākut "Kābul" and Marquart, index, s.v. "Ohind") was the residence of the Turkish kings, later of the Brahmans," (the Hind-šāhī dynasty who replaced the Turk-šāhī).

Chronologic list of events, according to Chinese and Arab sources: In the

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Han and Wei periods, the name Ki-pin was extended to Kashmir, later to Kapisa: Lévy-Chavannes, "Ou-k'ong". The name Gandhāra, given to the area of Pašavar dates from the Hephtalite period, when a dynasty of "*tigin*", later extinguished, reigned there, around 500: Chavannes, *Documents* . . ., p. 225. In ca 600–618, T'ung Yabgu, king of the Western Turks conquered "Ki-pin" (the name then designated Kapisa): *ibid.*, p. 52 (n.) Kapisa was the area of the Upper Kabul river, including Kafiristan, Chorband, Panǧsher. In *ca* 630–645, when Hsüan-tsang went to Ki-pin or Kapisa, the capital of the area was then probably Begram or Charikar: Cunningham, pp. 16, 28, 29. The Hephtalite *tigins* of Gandhara had been extinguished and their dominions were also attached to Kapisa. Kapisa and Gandhāra, the upper and lower regions around the Kābul river, down to the Indus, were then ruled by a *Kshattriya* (name of the Hindu military class, also extended to non-Hindu kings. In Fo-li-she-sa-tang-na (Urdhastana, Ortospana, which had formerly been the capital of Ki-pin but had fallen to a secondary rank, Bālā Ḥisār or the present city of Kābul; Cunningham, pp. 28–9) was under the rule of a king of Kök-Türk stock: Chavannes, *Documents* . . ., pp. 130 (n), 197. In 656–660, the name of Zabulistan (Ġaznah area) was changed to "*Ho-ta-lo-che*" (Al-Ruḫḫaǧ). The Arabs who had come to the area in 645 mention the former distinction between Zabulistan and Al-Ruḫḫaǧ. In 44 H./664, the Arabs encountered the resistance of Turkish soldiery on the border of Ḫorasan and Multan: Yakut, s.v. "Kīkān" citing Al-Balādhurī. Ṭabarī, vol. I, pp. 27–26 relates that between 41–60 H./661–679, the Šāh of Kābulistān had chased to Amul (in Tabaristan: see Marquart, index) his brother the Rutbīl who became ruler of Seistān, Al-Ruḫḫaǧ, Al- Dāwar. Zabulistan was the Rutbīl's summer residence and Al-Ruḫḫaǧ (site on the way between Kabul and Kandahar) his winter residence; Marquart, *Eranşahr*, p. 250 Zābulistān was sometimes included to al-Ruḫḫaǧ but could also be part of Kābulistān and consequently belong Toḫaristān: Ibn Ḫurdhādhbah, pp. 35,39,40 and Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-takwīm fī ma'rifat al-iḳlīm* (Leiden 1906) p. 297. The title of Rutbīl, derived from Ratna-pala was given to Turkish kings in particular of the Herat and Kābul regions: Lévi Chavannes, "Ou-k'ong", citing Ṭabarī and Mas'ūdī. Marquart pp. 248–254 uses, instead of Rutbīl the form Zunbīl and Zumbīl and cites Ṭabarī, vol. II, p. 1042, line 13, 11030, lines 8/9 (cod. B) 1132, line 17 (cod. B); Ibn Ḫallıḳān ed. Bulaḳ, vol. II, p. 464, line 11; who called Zunbīl "King of Turks". Zunbīl and other four Turkish princes bearing that name were killed by Ya'Ḳūb Ibn Al Lāith (Ibn Ḫalliḳān's report). Ṭabarī, vol. I, pp. 27–26 goes on to relate that the Rutbīl occupied Amul from whence he turned against his brother the Kabul-šāh. The *Rutbīl, ṣāḥıb al-Turk* battled against Arabs in 698–699: Ṭabarī, vol. I, pp. 27–26. Cf. with events described by the Chinese about 710–711 of the conquest of Ki-pin by a Tigin (Chavannes *Documents:* "Ou (or Wu)-San-Tigin-Sha)" of Zabulistan and of the subsequent investiture of the king of Ki-pin as Tigin of Al-Ruḫḫaǧ. Another personage, the "hie-li-fa" (ilteber) of Al-Ruḫḫaǧ received also an investiture (while tigin was a title given to members of the Kök-Türk *ḳaġan* family "*hie-li-fa*" *(ilteber)* was a minor Turkish title, also extended to local princes: see Liu Mau-Tsai, p. 181 and Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 24). This was the period when Hsüan-tsang met Kök-Türk populations in Ġaznah: Chavannes *Documents*, p. 161. Around 726, Huei Ch'ao encountered a king of Kök-Türk stock who reigned over Gandhāra, Kapisa and the area northwards while his nephew reigned in Zabulistan (Ġaznah). The populations in all these lands were "Hu" and included Brahmans, but the king, the aristocracy and the military

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people called the "Ḫazar-Kök-Türk" by Chinese histories, whose kaġans were of Kök-Türk dynasty, occupied between the sixth and

were of Kök-Türk stock. The king whom Huei Ch'ao met in 726 had a father who had been a conqueror (the father lived possibly in about 675–700: Cf. events related by Ṭabarī in 661–669 and by the Chinese in 710–711 on conquests effected then by the kings of Kabul and Al-Ruḫḫaǧ and Zabulistan). In his own name and that of his tribe, he had accepted the vassalage of the former king of Kapisa but later treacherously annexed his land. The city of Puškulāvatī, on the Indus, was the winter residence of the Turkish king whom Huei Ch'ao met in about 726, while Kapisa was his summer residence. Lampāka (Lamġān) was also his dominion, but not yet Udyāna (Swat) which was annexed by the same Turkish dynasty in 745, as it will be satted below. Huei Ch'ao described in ca 726, the king of Kök-Türk stock of Gandhāra and Kapisa, his nephew in Zabulistān and their family and courts as ardent Buddhists: "Although the king there is a T'u-küeh (Kök-Türk), he adheres to the *tri-ratna*. The king, his wives, the princes and nobles all build Buddhist monasteries and make offerings". The Turkish king even offered his wives and elephants, as well as his camels and numerous horses, in charity, but redeemed his wives and elephants. A Turkish noble, "Tarḳan Sha" built more monuments than the kings. In 727, the Arabs battled against "varieties of Turks between Kābul and the two regions of Ġūr": Ṭabarı, vol. I, p. 727. In 745, the son and successor of the king of Ki-pin (Kapisa) who bore the title of Tigin then reserved to the issue of Turkish *ḳagans*, received from China the investiture of Udyana (Swāt): Chavannes, *Documents* . . ., p. 132. Turkish period in the Buddhist ruins of Swat, placed in the eighth century: D. Facenna, *Sculpture of the sacred area of Butkara I, Swat, Pakistan* (Rome 1962) vol. I, p. 81. In 750 an ambassador of Ki-pin bore the Turkish title of Tarḳan: Levi-Chavannes, op.cit. In 753 Wu-k'ung came to Ki-pin (Kapisa) which had then two capitals, the city of Gandhāra (Pashavar) and Udhhabaṇḍapura (Ohind, on the Sind: see Marquart). He saw many temples built by the reigning dynasty which bore appelations connected with the word "Tigin", Shahı, and with Turkish words. There was also, in the then capital city of Gandhāra, temples attributed to former Turkish kings, a Yeli-Tigin, son of the Kök-Türk ḳaġan and to a ḳatun, wife of the Kök-Türk ḳaġan. The same personages were said to have built Buddhist monuments in Kashmīr, when Wu-k'ung went there in 759–762: Lévi-Chavannes, *op.cit.* On Yeli-Tigin (Yel-Tigin), a Turkish king of the sixth century mentioned by Dinawarī, see Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 11, 228, 242, 256. Coin: Göbl, Em. 287, Km 97). The Kābulān-šāh, a Turkish Buddhist accepted Islam in H. 176/802: J. Longworth-Dames, "Kābul", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden 1927) citing Ṭabarī, III/517, 815. The Turkish Šāhī of Kābul also reigned in Taxila; they abondoned their northern capital (in Gandhāra in 741 according to Wu-k'ung) for Ohind in 870, after the victory of Ya'Ḳūb Ibn Al-Laīth, in 870: Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 38. The Turk-šāhī Lagaturman (Marquart: Lāga Torāmaṇā) was dethroned dy his Brahman minister (Lalliya: Stein, *Rājataranginī*) in the southern capital of Ohind, where he had taken refuge, after his defeat in his other dominions. The Brahman founded the dynasty of the Hind-šāhī (who were later defeated by Maḥmūd of Gazna in 1003) and took up the insignia of the Turk-Šāhī: Bīrūnī *Ma lil-Hind*, on Kābulistān. The end of the Turk-šāhī came in *ca* 883–901: Lévi-Chavannes, "Ou-k'ong". In H. 257/886, Ya'Ḳūb Ibn/Laīth was in possession of the treasure and idols of the Kābulān-šāh: Marquart, p. 270.

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eighth centuries the areas north of the Caspian Sea to which they gave their name (Ḫazar Sea in Arabic), the Volga, Kuban and Dagistan[28a] regions.

The other major Turkish group which descended from a wolf, in this case a male variety which had begotten issue from the daughter of the Hunnic *shan-yü*, were the Töles, of whom the Uyġur were a tribe. The Töles moreover knew of a wolf-headed deity. Probably in connection with this genetic legend, the *ḳaġan* of the Uyġur also used the wolf-pennon to which homage was rendered.[29] There were Uyġur ḳaġan dynasties between 750–840 on the Orkhon, between *ca* 850–1250 in Turfan and Kuča (after 1250 under Mongol vassalage, with the title of *Idiḳut*); between 850–1036 in Kansu. The lupine flag-pole finial appears therefore to be the privilege of some Turkish ḳaġan dynasties between the sixth and thirteenth centuries over a vast area which extended from the Tchili Gulf and Kansu to the Ordos, to Siberia, to Central Asia, to the Caspian, to the Volga, to the borders of modern Persia, Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan.

The Chinese T'ang period sources[30] describe the Kök-Türk lupine-headed pennon as wholly similar to the present nomadic Northern Asian Turkish *tös:* "They fabricate images of the gods in felt. The images are anointed with animal fat. They are in leather bags. They are mounted on poles. Sacrifices are made to them four times a year". "Before the entrance of the Kök-Türk qagan's tent they pitch a pole and pennon which is decorated with a wolf's head". "They carry on the summit of their flag-pole a golden wolf-head. The guards' officers are called *fu-li* (*böri* = wolf)".

In view of the existence of the dracontine textile *tös* with imitations of scales at Noin-ula and considering the continuation of the Hunnic cult of the celestial dragon[31] together with the *böri-cult*,[32] in dynastic aspect,[33] amongst the Kök-Türk, it seems possible that the Kök-Türk *böri* pennon may have had already some dracontine features. The existence of the heraldic motif of the

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[28a] Artamonov, p. 518. Chavannes, Documents, index, s.v. "Khazar".

[29] Wolf ancestor of the Töles (group to which belonged the Uygur): Ögel. Wolf-headed Töles (Sie-yen-t'o) god on Mouth Otüken: Liu Mau-Tsai, p. 460, notes 579, 580. Wolfpennon of the Uyġur Ḳaġan in 756: Mackerras, p. 4.

[30] See note 24 *supra*.

[31] Hunnic and Turkish celestial and terrestrial dragon cults: see note 18 *supra*.

[32] See note 24/29 *supra*.

[33] See notes 24, 18 *supra*.

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hybrid lupinecelestial dragon as of the Ordos type, with trunk-like muzzle (pl. Ia) will be cited below in several instances: on the Uygur Ḳaġan's edict at Ordu-balïḳ (pl. Ic) dated in the early ninth century; again in an open-work gilded bronze object found in a Siberian Turkish grave dated by Kisilev between the seventh and tenth centuries (pl. IVc).

Although K. Trever drew attention to the resemblance of a silver mask, apparently a flag-pole finial (pl. IVb) to the dracontine-lupine tös of the Marcomanni in the second century (pl. IVa), she nevertheless dated it in the seventh century, probably because of a Chinese décor of T'ang period character, with cloud and thunder-spiral[34] motifs, frequently borrowed also by the Kök-Türk (pl. IVb, ornament whose specimens are shown on the upper left proper corner). The Sino-Turkish décor of the Siberian silver mask as well as its resemblance to contemporary Turkish Siberian lupine-celestial dracontine iconography (pl. IVc), in relates the mask found in Siberia to the local art and in conjunction with the fact that the lupine pennon was then the privilege of Turkish ḳaġans reigning in that area permits a Turkish attribution. A similar opinion was expressed by R. Ettinghausen, who first kindly indicated the mask to me.

Chinese histories[35] note that "*A guidon* (pennant with forked end ?) surmounted with a wolf's head was presented (sometime in the end of the sixth century) to Tardu Ḳaġan of the Western Turks, as emblem of supreme authority on the Turkish people whose totem was the wolf." The Chinese hinted thereby that the lupine emblem of the wolf dynasty, the A-shi-na, which was pitched before the tent of the *ḳaġan*,[36] belonged in their eyes not only to the Northern, but also to the Western branch of the dynasty. This historic passage confirms also that the use of the wolf-head flag-pole finial was the privilege of the heads of the A-shi-na wolf dynasty.

On the murals of Turkistan from the Western Turkish (581–658), Türgiš (658–766), Ḳarluḳ (766–960) and Uyġur periods (850–1250 entered Mongol vassalage) many specimens of the lupine dracontine *tös*, are recognizable through the *yip*,[36a] or line of scales, placed either on the spine or the belly (pls. IId,e). The *tös* are generally

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[34] Cloud and thunder-spiral motifs: Williams, art. "Diaper patters".
[35] Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 49 (n), 72, 220.
[36] See note 24 *supra*.
[36a] See note 20 *supra*.

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held by warrior figures whom Grünwedel identified as *ñaga-rājah* (pl. IIe). The figures appear in majority on a painting which shows the share of the Buddha's relics between the eight kings of India, the gods and the eight *nāga-rājah*[37] and the latter display the reptilian and the canine emblems of the Indian naga and of the Tantric deities[38] (in Eastern Turkistan, the snake emblem became a dragon and the jackal was transformed into a wolf or fox). The lupine-dracontine effigy appears again in the hands of an armoured warrior, in attendance to a Buddha (pl. IId). In this instance, the bag with imitations of scales in textile and forked end is in the Hunnic form seen at Noin-ula (pl. IIb) and there may be reason to suppose that it was inspired by the Turkish ḳaġans' wolf pennon which then floated over Central Asia or that the painting perhaps even represented in allegorical guise some Buddhist Central Asian Turkish ḳaġan such as T'ung Yabġu,[39] in attendance to the "Burḳan" (Buddha in Turkish). The word *ḳurt* (worm)[40] used in Oġuz Turkish since the eleventh century to indicate also the wolf was perhaps born from these *tös* showing the head of the wolf allied to the worm-like body of the dragon with its line of scales or *yip* (rope) on the spine or belly (pls. IId,e, VIa).

The wolf-pennon of the Uyġur[41] ḳaġan, represented on a Central Asian mural of the Uyġur period from Murtuk was most kindly indicated to me by Prof. von Gabain (pl. VIb). The primitive nomadic *tös* and *batraḳ* seem forgotten in the Central Asian sedentary Uyġur civilization of the ninth to twelvth centuries. The painting does not show a *tös*, but a banner, no more attached to the *batraḳ* which in an Uyġur text is an attribute of demons,[42] but a curved pole (pl. VIb) (the same curved pole is seen on a Tun-huang mural, perhaps also of the Uygur period of Tun-huang [911–1036] [pl. VIc]). The banner penetrates the cranium of the wolf (cf. pl. IVa,

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[37] de Visser, p. 3.

[38] Emblems of *nāga-rajah* and *ḍākinīs*. J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu iconography* (Calcutta 1956), p. 494 and index. s.v. "nāga". Emblems of *nāga-rajah*, *nāginī* and *dākinī* in Eastern Turkistan: Grünwedel, *Kultstaetten*, index, s.v. "Wolf", "Drache", "Schlange".

[39] T'ung Yabġu became Buddhist under the influence of the Indian monk Prabhakaramitra and in his reign Bişbalık was called Ḳaġan-*stūpa*: Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 193, 12, 109, 175, 305.

[40] *ḳurt:* Kašġarī.

[41] See note 29 *supra*.

[42] *Batraḳ*: see note 9 *supra*. *Badruk* of the *yek* (demons) in an Uyġur text: Müller–Gabain, "Uigurica IV A", lines 8, 39, 237.

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b: wolf-heads with holes in cranium) and unfurls from the mouth. The Kök-Türk sacrifice to the wolf-pennon[43] may be illustrated in the Uygur painting. But it seems to have taken another character. In the peaceful Buddhist Uygur world the sacrifice appears to have become an act of the liberation of captive birds. A similar wolf-head banner, held by a princely warrior, was represented on a gate of a Ḳïzïl mural, at a place generally reserved to the effigies of donors. The figure who wears a crown-like cap similar to the one seen Kül Tigin's effigy may again represent a Turkish *ḳaġan*-donor who had the privilege to fly the *böri* pennon.

A Burḳan, as non-Turkish world-monarch, was given in an Uyġur mural a hybrid lupine-dracontine pennon (pl. VII b). The world-monarch's dracontine pennon finally lost all lupine character and simply displayed the features of the Yüan dragon which seems to correspond to the elephantine mask of the dragon-god of heaven.[44] The evolution from the hybrid lupine-dracontine pennon to the wholly elephantine *Kök-Luu* (celestial dragon) which had started on the Bezeklik murals dated in the ninth to twelfth century (pl. VII b) was completed in the illustration of a Turkish Buddhist manuscript dated in the thirteenth century or later by Grünwedel (pl. VII c). As Buddhism was still wholly prevalent in Turfan in 1419[45] the manuscript may even be dated in the fourteenth century.

Flag-pole or *tuğ* (tail-emblem) finials, in astral or trident forms, were attributed by the Uyġur painters of the ninth to twelvth centuries to the Küzetkici Basaman (the Lokapala Vaiśravana) (pl. IX d, e).

The double theme of the wolf and of the cave in the Turfanese episode of the genetic legend of Kök-Türk *ḳaġans* may have followed the scions of the lupine dynasty south of the Oxus, in the expansion which followed the conquest of the Hephtalite empire in 563–567.

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[43] The Tun-huang painting was kindly indicated by Prof. von Gabain. It is shown in a Chinese guide of Tun-huang (Peking 1964), card no 34 and dated in the "middle T'ang period". The Uyġur rule in Tun-huang extended from 911 to 1036 (see Pinks).

[43] Kök-Türk sacrifice to the wolf-pennon: see note 24 *supra*.

[44] See note 15 *supra*.

[45] The Timurid ambassadors who, on their way to China, stopped in July 1419 in Kamul and Turfan, found Ḳamul partly and Turfan wholly Buddhist. Many "old and new" works of Buddhist art were admired in these centers by Giyathuddīn Naḳḳāš whose account figures in Ḥāfiẓ-Abrū's history: turkish translation by Küçük-Çelebi-zâde 'Āsim Efendi, *'Agă'ib ul-laṭāï'f* (Istanbul H. 1331), pp. 12–13.

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The "Turkish ḳaġan Šabah" and his son Yel-Tigin,[46] prince of Baykend, who conquered Ḫorasan and Herat, are mentioned by Ṭabarī and Dinawarī as opponents of Bahrām Čubīn in the sixth century. Chavannes identified Yel-Tigin as the Yeli-Tigin of Chinese sources, reported to have erected Buddhist monuments in Gandhāra. (An inscription on a group of coins was associated with him.) Between 580 and 610 T'ung Yabġu, ḳaġan of the Western Turks conquered Kapisa. The description of the banner with wolf-head finial of the Turanian army which occurs in Firdausī[47] may be connected with the wars between Persians and Turks in the sixth century. We noted that a dynasty derived from T'ung Yabġu, the Western Turkish ḳaġan, governed the whole of Toḫaristan[48] between *ca* 600–758. In *ca* 630 Hsüan-tsang encountered these in Ḳunduz and Balḫ. He also met another king of Kök-Türk stock in Fo-li-she-sa-tang-na, identified as present Kābul.[49] Another, or perhaps the same dynasty, called Turkish by Arab sources since *ca* 650 and Kök-Türk by the Chinese traveller Huei-Ch'ao in 726, was said to reign then over the whole of the territory in the areas of the Kābul and Hilmand rivers. This dynasty whom Bīrūnī calls Turk-šāhī[50] and reports to be born of a legendary Böri-Tigin (Wolf Tigin) in a cave, was composed of two branches. The first bore in various sources the titles of Kābulān-šāh or Kābul-šah, Šāhī-Tigin or Tigin or šāhī or Turk-Šāhī. The second branch were called Rutbīl (Ratnapala) or Zunbīl. The major branch reigned in the Kābul valley (Gandhāra, Kapisa, Udabāṇḍhapura or Waihind, Udyāna (Swat), Lampāka (Lamġān) while the minor Rutbīl branch held Seistan, al-Ruḫḫaǧ, al-Dāwar. Both branches alternately governed Zabulistan (Ġaznah). Their expansion is reported as far as Multan and the Sind river. It is remarkable that the *böri* head, (pl. VId,e) in the fierce and snarling Siberian (pl. IIIa,b) and naturalist Central Asian (pl. IId,e; VIa) manners, appears on coins[51] (pl. IVd,e) from the eighth century from Ḫorasan and Zabulistan and on those attributed to Šāhī Tigin, that is evidently to the dynasty of Böri (Wolf) Tigin who then reigned in the area. The wolf-heads are often

[46] See note 28 *supra*.
[47] Köprülü, "Bayraḳ".
[48] See note 27 *supra*.
[49] *Ibid*.
[50] See note 28 *supra*.
[51] Rodgers, part III, p. 8, coin 7604. Smith, vol. I/2, pl. XXV/1. Ghirshman, coins inscribed "*Shahi*". Göbl, vol. III, pp. 13, 170, 177.

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placed between a pair of wings which may point to a celestial identity. The lupine masks are not however shown either on flag-poles nor on the *batraḳ* (pl. IX c) which on some of these coins may figure the lance, an attribute of the Turk-šāhī, according to Bīrūnī. The coins attributet to an earlier Hunnic dynasty, the Alxon, show the bust in profile of a winged bird-like canine, rather reminiscent of a sculpture from the Buddhist Kushan period ruins of Tirmiẓ.[52] The Alxon had also astral flag-pole finials (pl. IX a).

3. THE DOUBLE-DRAGON AND THE PEARL

The dublicated form of the dragon motif, sometimes in the variety of the dracontine arch was an emblem as ancient as the single celestial dragon. In Chou custom, during the first pre-Christian millenary, while the single celestial dragon was represented on the garment of the emperor, the double-dragon appeared on the secondary *K'i*[53] flag which could also be hoisted by a vassal prince. One of the dragons on the *K'i* depicted the vassal ascending towards the zenith of the imperial court, while the second dragon showed the vassal's descent from this apogee. The distinction between the single imperial dragon and the double-dragon as on the *K'i* did not seem later valid in China. Since the Han period, the imperial flag as well as funeray monuments showed double-dragon and pearl motifs.[54] The dracontine arch represented the heavenly vault.[55]

In this symbolic celestial character it appeared also on funerary monuments. Motifs of dracontine arches, more schematic than in China, depicting possibly masks of *makara* or *jalebha*, also figured on Kushan thrones (pl. Va).

We encounter here the pearl, globe or disc, symbol of the luminaries and represented in red in China, which in an astrologic concept,[56] figured together with the dragon or in its mouth, in China

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[52] See note 5 *supra*.

[53] Biot, vol. II, pp. 6, 133, 134 (n. 3), 174.

[54] Williams, s.v. "Flag". de Visser, pp. 99–101; Combaz, figs. 140, 163.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] The astrologic significance of the red pearl as symbol of the sun or of the moon: de Visser, pp. 64, 111–117. De Visser suggests that the image of the pearl appeared with the Azure dragon-effigy in ancient China in a spring procession, in relation with the parallel astrologic course of the sun and of the auspicious Azure Dragon constellation. The golden pomegranate on the cupola of the Hazar kagan's tent may also have represented a luminary: Togan, p. 120. W. Hartner, in "The pseudo-planetary nodes of the moon's

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and in Kushan art,[57] as well as in early Turkish iconography (pls. Ic, IVc, Vc). In an Uyġur Buddhist text the pearl, identified with the *Cintāmaṇī* is detained by the "*Luu ḫanï*" (the dragon king) and in another text it is described as a *moncuḳ* (pearl) with aureole, a fully round flaming jewel".[58] In Uyġur paintings (pl. VIIa) the *moncuḳ* is a green globe with flaming red aureole.

As in China, the early Turkish works of art also represented the double-dragon and *moncuḳ* motif, both in emblematic and funerary functions.[59] A much effaced dracontine celestial arch (pl. Vd) carved over the Turkish inscription on the Kök-Türk prince Kül-Tigin's stele (died 732) had the peculiarity of bearing also a *tamġa* (tribal seal) which equally figured on the sarcophagus of the Kök-Türk ḳaġan Türk Bilge (died 734). The *tamġa* had moreover been personally "set" by Yolluğ Tigin, another member of the Kök-Türk dynasty.[60] The dracontine celestial arch with *tamġa* designed by Yolluğ Tigin over the Turkish inscription of Kül Tigin's stele may well represent an emblem of the A-shi-na dynasty who claimed to

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orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconographies", *Ars Islamica*, v/2, shows in the conjoint image the allegory of the luminaries and of the evil Indian world-dragon, cut in two (Rāhu and Ketu, figured in Uygur Turkish astrology: see Rachmati, index). Rāhu (Ra's in arabic) follows the luminaries and periodically succeeds in swallowing them, thereby causing eclipses. Kushan period Mathura relief showing a pearl extracted from the mouth of a makara or *jàlebḥa*: Combaz, fig. 113. Cf. *Ölüm-madar*, the makara of death in Uygur texts: Müller, "Uigurica III", pp. 31/14; 42/13. 69/13. *Ibid.* p. 92: the Mongol and Manchuforms of the Uyġur word *madar*, of Sanskrit origin, designated the *T'ao-t'ieh* mask which often figures on the dracontine arch. The significance of the T'ao-t'ieh mask, as symbol of death and of ta *makara*-dragon is thus shown in Uygur texts. Müller–Gabain, "Uigurica IV C" lines 172–175 describes *Madar*" in *Avïş* (Aviči, see Soothhill: the lowest hot inferno) swallowing the guilty. The name *Makara* also designated in Indian and therefrom derived Uygur astrology the month of the winter solstice, the last phase of the year. Therefore *Ölüm madar* may perhaps be equally a symbol of the end of the temporal cycle.

[57] Auboyer, pl. III.

[58] Arat, 10/61–63: "*Yaruḳluğ . . . moncuḳ . . . tolu teğirmi erdini oot atlığ*". *Cintāmaṇī* and "*Luu ḫanï*"[2] Orkun, *Kalyānamkara*. See also *Slovar'*, s.v. "Moncuq", "Mani Moncuq". *Moncuḳ* in Ġaznavid and Anatolian Selčuḳid texts: Köprülü, "Bayraḳ" and Ibn Bibi, fol. 414: "*Pertev-i mahčah i-moncuḳ*".

[59] Heikel, pp. VII–XIII, notes the repetition of dracontine compositions in the ruins of the Kök-Türk and Uyġur periods, in the Orḳun area.

[60] Heikel, pl. I, Orkun, *Yazïtlar*, vol. I, p. 54: "*Yigirmi kün olurup bu taškḳa bu tamḳa ḳop, Yolluğ Tigin, bitidinz*". See comments on this *tamġa* by Radloff, pl./V/2 (same *tamġa* on sarcophagus of Türk Bilge Ḳaġan, called with the Chinese name Mogilan by Radloff).

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receive charisma from heaven.[61] The dragon-heads are here also holding in their mouth the pearls, called *moncuḳ* in Turkish. It is notable that the Kök-Türk dragon masks are not in the contemporary T'ang manner but recall some styles of the proto-Turkish Tabgač (Toba, Northern Wei) and Tsü-k'ü (Northern Liang) (pl. V b), themselves influenced by the Kushan makara (pl. V a). The Tsü-k'ü, together with the A-shi-na, the *ḳagan* dynasty of the Kök-Türk, had founded in Kansu and Turfan, in the fifth century, a kinġdom.[62] It is in Kansu, in a cave attributed to the Tsü-k'ü that a parallel (pl. V b) of the Kök-Türk dracontine arch (pl. V c) seems to have existed (the sculpture may have been restored).

The same type of rather schematic Kushan *makara* or *jalebha* masks figure on the dracontine arches of bronze plaques found in a Turkish grave of Kočngar (Issık-köl area) together with Chinese coins dated *ca* 710.[63] The *makara* or *jalebha* figured then repeatedly in the art of the Kök-Türk in the eighth century. The Kočngar plaques, like the stele of Kül-Tigin, raise some incertitude on the emblematic of funerary function of the dracontine arch. According to the character of the semi-human frontal mask placed in the center of the Kočngar dracontine arches, which may represent either a celestial god, like Tengri,[64] or an infernal one, such as the Uyġur "makara of death" *Ölüm Madar*[65] an emblematic or mortuary character may be ascribed to the plaque.

The same interpretation applies to the gilded bronze plaque found in a Ḳïrġïz Siberian grave of the fifth to tenth centuries which we had already mentioned (pl. IV c) as a nomadic Siberian variety of the composition with double *Kök-luu*, *moncuḳ* and apotropaic mask.

It is certainly in emblematic function that the dracontine celestial arch crowned the edict of the Uyġur ḳaġan of the early ninth

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[61] The first line of the inscription on the stele of Türk Bilge Ḳaġan is: "*Tenriteg tenride bulmïš Türk Bilge Ḳaġan . . .*" (Orkun, *Yazıtlar*, vol. I, p. 22) The fist line of the stele at Ordu-balïḳ of the Uyġur Ḳaġan: "*Bu tenriken tenride ḳut bulmïš Alp Bilge Tenri Uygur Ḳaganïn bitigin*" (Orkun, *Yazïtlar*, vol. I, p. 84).

[62] Liu Mau-Tsai, pp. 40, 519, 754. O. Franke, *Eine chinesische Tempelinschrift aus Idikutšahri bei Turfan* (Berlin 1907). S.G. Klyaštornïy, "Problemï ranney istorii plemen Turk (Ašina)", *Novoe v Sovietskoy arḥeologii* (Moscow 1964), pp. 278–81. The art of the Tsü-k'ü (or Chü-ch'ü): Soper, "North Liang".

[63] Bernštam, pp. 89–90.

[64] See Orkun, *Yazïtlar*, index.

[65] See note 56 *supra*.

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century, who in the Kök-Türk inscription below the arch, claimed celestial charisma, on the stele[66] at Ordu-balïḳ, composed by Alp Inancï Baġa Tarḳan (pl. Ic). This Uyġur dracontine emblem shows a wholly different and archaic style, with eastern and northern nomadic and early Chinese affiliations. The masks of the Ordu-balïḳ dracontine arch (pl. Ic) display some of the characteristics of the ancient Chinese *Kuei* as well as features of the Ordos (pl. Ia) and Siberian (pl. Ib) lupine dragons and wolves. The dracontine masks of Ordu-balïḳ again hold between their teeth the *moncuḳ*, the pearls which depict luminaries (pl. VIc).

The Central Asian Uyġur Turks seem to have kept up the symbolism of the single dragon as insignia of the world-monarch. The Uyġur murals assigned indeed to the *Burḳan*, the pennon with the single celestial elephantine Kök-luu mask (pl. VIIb). The symbolic representations of the universe, dedicated to the cults of cosmic *bodhisattva* such as Avalokiteśvara or Ākāśagarbha[68] included the four dragons of cardinal directions[69] (pl. VIIa). The pair of *Kök-luu* (celestial dragons) held the *moncuḳ*[70] which in Uyġur Buddhist texts took also the significance of the *Cintāmaṇi*.

4. EVREN AND MONCUḲ

In 1068, the poet of *Ḳutadġu-bilik* hailed the Ḫaḳanid monarch with the title of *Kök-böri* (Celestial wolf)[71] and invoked the charisma

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[66] Orkun, *Yazïtlar*, vol. I, pp. 85–96, vol. II, p. 40 gives the approximate datation in the beginning of the ninth century and the name of the composer of the stele Alp. Inancï Baġa Tarḳan Kïrḫan Ḳaraḳas. Heavenly charisma: see note 61 *supra*.

[67] See note 14 *supra*.

[68] Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 32. Grünwedel, *Kultstätten*, fig. 590. Grünwedel suggests that the figure on the summit of the symbolic universal edifice was Avalokiteśvara. However it may also be Ākāśagarbha, the *bodhisattva* of the *ḳalïg* (ether) described in Uyġur texts (Müller, "Uigurica I" p. 18) holding the attributes (*vzır* = *vajra*, gems) seen on the figure at the zenith on the Uyġur paintings symbolic of the universe.

[69] See note 15 *supra*.

[70] *Moncuḳ:* see note 56 *supra* von Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien* (Berlin 1925), vol. III, pl. 16 commented the headdress of a Turkish princess and remarked that the pointed form of the flame imitated the leaf of the *Ficus religiosa* under which the Buddha Śakyamuni reached illumination. Le Coq equally noted the passage of the motif into Islamic art in the form of the *šamsah*.

[71] The title Kök-böri (Celestial Wolf) is given in *Ḳutadġu-bilik* to the Ḫaḳanid monarch (Yūsuf Ḫāṣṣ Ḥācib, couplet 5378) who was probably a descendant of the A-shi-na the Wolf dynasty of the Kök-Türk Ḳaġans: Pritsak,

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of *Evren*, the world-dragon which in Ḫaḳanid symbolism coiled itself around the ecliptic wheel of the heavens bearing the constellations, causing the wheel's movement and consequently became a symbol of the temporal and spatial universe.[72] Although the double dragon, in a style which seems evolved from Kök and Western Turkish precedents (pl. V c) figures as a royal emblem, possibly the image of *Evren*, on a Ḫaḳanid metallic pot (pl. V d), there is no evidence that the dragon motif was used on flag-poles. On the contrary, the bronze crescents, with arabic inscriptions in a ductus recalling that of Ḫaḳanid coins, found in Ḫotan, one of which is dated (pl. IX f) may well have been astral flag-pole finials of the Ḫaḳanid. It seems possible that the pious Ḫaḳanid avoided on their flags the image of the pre-Islamic *Evren*.

Köprülü[73] noted that the Turkish word *moncuḳ* was used, to designate a flag-pole finial, in Ġaznavid texts. The Ġaznavid dynasty and their soldiery who were Turks, apparently saw in the flag-pole finial some elements which reminded them of the *moncuḳ*, in the significance of *Cintāmaṇī* which it then had in Uyġur Turkish. Köprülü again remarks the repetition of the word *moncuḳ* in the history of the Anatolian Selčukid kings by Ibn Bibi.[74] From then onwards, the word *moncuḳ* is often associated with the *mahčah* (little lunar globe or crescent-moon in persian) and points to astral flag-pole finials. This supposition on Anatolian Selčukid astral flag-pole finials is supported by contemporary Anatolian pictorial representations of royal flags (pl. IX g). The same Anatolian Selčuḳid book also depicts the ancient *batraḳ* (pl. IX h).

The "*Kök-böri*" of *Ḳutadġu-bilik* was yet a valid concept in the Mongol period when in the Uyġur version of the Oġuz Ḳaġan epic, the celestial wolf appears as the totem of the Kaġan.[75] The legend of *Börte Chine*,[76] the ancestral astral "yellow dog" legends of the

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"Ḳara-ḫanïlar". The name or title Kök-büri is also attested in the twelfth century in the name of the Türkmen prince of Irbil of the dynasty of Begtigin, Muẓaffaruddīn Kök-böri (1167–1242): see Ibn Ḫallikān *Wafayāt al-'ayān* (Cairo ed.), vol. I, p. 550. The "Kök-böri" who showed the way on the conquests of Oġuz Ḳaġan and whose name became the war cry of the army of Oġuz: Bang-Rachmati, lines 99, 136–146.

[72] Evren: see note 16 *supra*.

[73] Köprülü, "Bayrak".

[74] See note 56 *supra*.

[75] See note 71 *supra*.

[76] *Börte-čine:* E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig 1948), p. 3. *Börte-čine* represented amongst genealogic portraits with Uyġur

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Ğingizḫanid dynasty witnesses to the vivacity of the lore of the celestial canine. (The yellow dog was represented in an Uyġur Turkish book of genealogies in the fifteenth century). However probably because the authentic *böri* was so closely associated with the legitimate line of the Turkish ḳaġanate, foreigners or latecomers such as the Ğingizḫanid or Timurid preferred to the flag-pole finial with *böri*-head the imperial Chinese dragon which had also been represented on the Burḳans' flag-pole in Uyġur paintings (pl. VIIb). Ibn Bibi[77] mentions the Ilḫan Abaḳa's dragon and "*tuğ*" (tail-trophy) without however describing it. A dracontine arch with the stiff mask of the earlier (ninth to twelfth centuries) Uyġur *Kök-luu* (and not the Yüan dragon which had an elephantine trunk) is represented on a throne in a painting (pl. VIIc) attributable to the period of the Ilḫan Arġun.[78] The word *moncuḳ* appears in Ilḫanid texts in the form *buncaḳ* and described as golden ornament inserted with gems.[79]

The dracontine emblem represented on Timur's flagpole and *tuğ* (pl. VIIe) in a possibly contemporary book-painting, seems ultimately developed from the Uyġur *Kök-luu* mask (pl. VIIb) and derived directly from the Ilḫanid type of dracontine arch and mask (pl. VIId).

A further type of flag-pole finial may be affiliated to the motif of serpentine arch, with central astral symbols, seen on a coin from Ḫorasan,[80] dated possibly later than the eighth century (pl. VIIIa). In this variety, the dragon has been metamorphosed into a snake. After the fifteenth century, the serpentine arch became the classical insignia of sovereignty. On later Timurid and Ottoman book-paintings the flag-poles and *tuğ* of monarchs, both secular and spiritual, are frequently surmounted with the serpentine arch. Such were the flag-pole finials attributed by Timurid painters to the Turkish Ḫaḳanid İlik (pl. VIIb) and to Timur (pl. VIIc). The Ottoman artists represented the flag-pole of 'Alī and of his partisans in the same shape of the serpentine arch (pl. VIId).

Turkish inscriptions of the Timurid period in Miscell. Album H. 2152, fol. 42.

[77] Ibn Bibi, fol. 673.

[78] See Esin, "Two miniatures from the collections of Topkapı", *Ars Orientalis* V.

[79] Jahn, p. 39.

[80] Göbl, Ems. 242, 243, likened by Göbl to Em. 244, 245, the latter from *ca* the eighth century.

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In 1601, Ḥasan b.Ḥalaf al-Tabrīzī[81] who wrote a Persian dictionary for a Turkish king of the Ḳuṭb-šāh dynasty of Deccan desribed in these words the persianised form *mancuḳ*: "a flat and round object at the summit of the *sancaḳ* (turkish word indicating generally the royal standard) which has the significance of a *mahčah* (Persian word: little lunar globe or crescent-moon). It may be made of gold or copper. It is also called *'alam* (arabic for flag) and may refer to the *čatr* (Persian for royal tent) and parasol (of a king). The word designates principally the *sancaḳ* (standard)".

On the flag-pole and tuğ of the Ottomans the pre-Islamic associations of the dragon seemed perhaps incongruous (although the motif of dragon and pearl appeared on the flag).[82] The *moncuḳ*, in a flaming or lanceolate form, inscribed with the Islamic confession of faith, or as a globe surmounted by the crescent (pl. IXi,j) subsisted alone. In the glowing literary style of Kemāl Paša-zāde[83] (1468–1534) the *moncuḳ* became the symbol of Turkish arms: "*Moncuḳ-u 'alem i-ẓafer u perčem-kimem 'ayyūḳda efrašte oldu!*" (Kemāl Paša-zāde, fol. 45)

(The *moncuḳ* of the victorious flag and the tail-standard rose as high as the Star Capella!)

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[81] 'Āṣim Efendi, translation into turkish, made in H. 1212/1796 and printed in Istanbul in H. 1287 of Ḥasan b. Ḥalaf Al-Tabrīzī's *Burhān al-kāṭi'* written for Sultān 'Abdullāh Ḳuṭb-šāh of Golkonda: "*Mancuḳ: ṣandūḳ vezninde mahče ma'nāsınadır ki sancaḳ bašında olan yassï ve değirmi nesnedir. Baḳïrdan ve altundan daḫi olur. 'Alem ta'bīr olunur ve četr ve šemsiye ma'nāsınadur. Bu sancaḳ ma'nāsına gelür*". Cf. golden pomagranate on the Hazar ḳaġan's tent-cupola: note 56 *supra*. Ottoman flags with dracontine emblem and *moncuḳ-cintāmanī:* several illustr. by Kurtoğlu, in particular fig. 48. The similar golden or red globe or *ḳïzïl elma* was an emblem of might (see portraits of sultans in Miscell. Album Ahmed I, dated *ca* 1603–1617, in which each sultan holds a golden globe. Selim II, as first sultan to have achieved the dignity of caliph, holds two golden globes, one in each hand. In book-paintings of the Ottoman period, showing renewed Chinese influences through Timurid channels, the dragon was again represented with a red disc as in China (see note 56). In folk-tales also, the dragon seeks the golden or red apple "*ḳïzïl elma*": W. Eberhard–P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* (Wien 1953), type 72/III. *Ḳızıl elma* also indicatedthe capitals of great empires, such as Vienna, Rome, Moscow.

[82] See note 83.

[83] Kemal Paşa-zāde likened the *moncuk* to the *mahče* (persian for lunar globe or crescent) and saw in it the symbol of Ottoman might: "*Mahče-i tavk, evc-i-'ayyuḳa 'urūc eyleyüp.*" (fol. 44); "*Moncuḳu-'alem i-ẓafer*'" (fol. 45); *Mahče-i feṭḥ-āyet ü zevraḳ-i hilāl*" (fol. 41).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Altheim–Haussig–F. Altheim–W. Haussig, *Die Hunnen in Osteuropa* (Baden-Baden 1957).
APAW, *Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften*
Arat–R. Arat, *Eski Türk šiiri* (TTK, Ankara 1965).
Artamonov – M. I. Artamonov, *Istoriya Ḫazar* (Leningrad 1962).
Auboyer – J. Auboyer, *Le trône dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris 1949).
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IA – Islam *Ansiklopedisi*
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Jahn – K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte Ġāzān Ḫāns aus dem Ta'rīḫ i-mubārak i-Ġāzānī des Rašīd al-Dīn* (London 1940).
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Nāṣiruddīn Sivasī – See Esin, ,,Selçuk".
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Ṭabarī – Ṭabarī, *Tārīḫ al rusūl wa al-umam* (Leiden 1890).
Ṭogan, *Ibn Faḍlān* – Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht* (Leipzig 1953).
Togan, *Istanbul* – Z. V. Togan, *The Istanbul miniatures* (Istanbul 1963).
TOVGE – *Trudï Otdela Vostoka Gosudarstvennago Ermitaža.*
Trever, „Senmurv" – K. Trever, "*Tête de senmurv en argent des collections de l'Ermitage*" *Iranica Antiqua.*
Trever, „Serebriannoe navershie" – K. Trever, „Serebriannoe navershie Sasanidskogo standarte", TOVGE III (Leningrad 1940).
TT – Türkische Turfantexte.
TTK – Türk Târîh Kurumu
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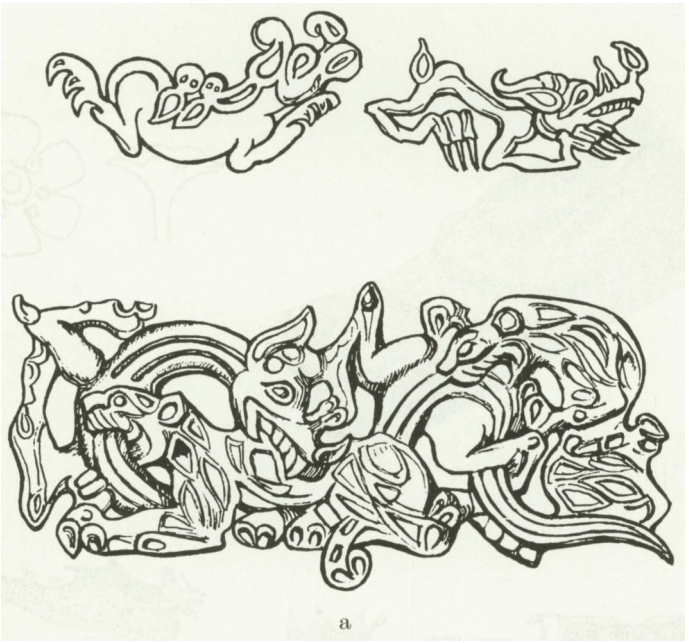
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PLATE I – ESIN, *TÖS* AND *MONCUḲ*

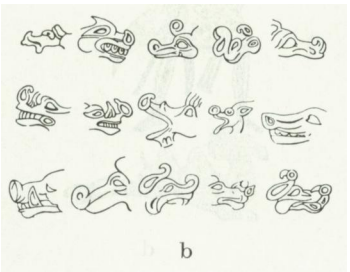
a Wolves and wolf-dragon on Ordos plaques of the first millenary B.C. After Rudenko, "Wolf", fig. 10.

b Heads of wolves on Siberian plaques of the first millenary B.C. After Rudenko, *Sibirische Sammlung;* p. 35.

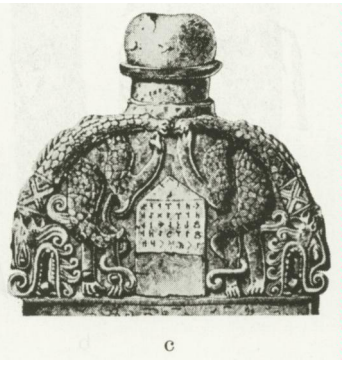
c Dracontine arch and turkish inscription composed by Alp Inancï Baġa Tarḳan, in Kök-Türk runes, on the monument of read granite bearing the edict an Uygur ḳaġan from the beginning of a ninth century. After Heikel, p. XI.



a



b



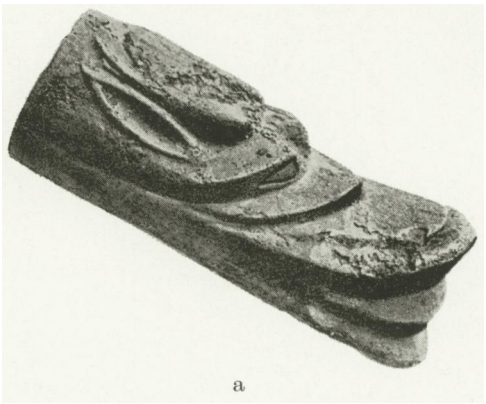
c

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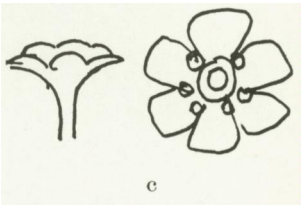
PLATE II – ESIN, *TÖS* AND *MONCUḲ*

a, b, c Wooden flag-pole finial in wolf-head shape, metallic rosette and textile bags, imitating a scaly animal's body and hind-legs, from the site of Noin-ula, dated in the second to first century B.C. and attributed to the Hsiung-nu. If the wolf-head, the rosette and one of the bags were hitched together on a pole they would produce a totemic effigy (cf. pl. IIc) After Rudenko, *Noin-ula*, pls. XXXII/2, XXXIV, LIII.

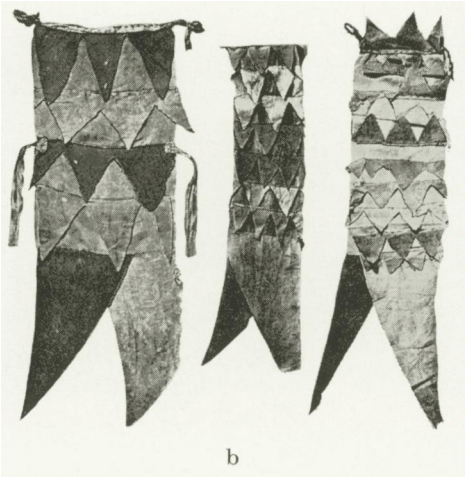
d *Nağa-rājah* floating a dracontine *tös*, with attached pieces of fur (cf. pl. IVa), on a mural painting from a temple of Kiriš, showing motifs in Uygur style (in this area, eighth century onwards). The kneeling camel may indicate the prince's name or rank (Buġra, camel-stallion in Turkish, an Uygur princely name or rank: von Gabain, *Chotscho*. After Grünwedel, *Kultstätten*, fig. 342.



a



c



b

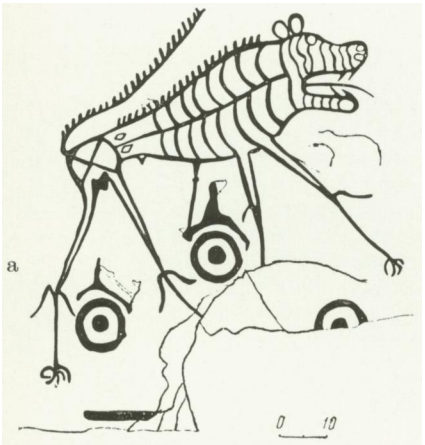


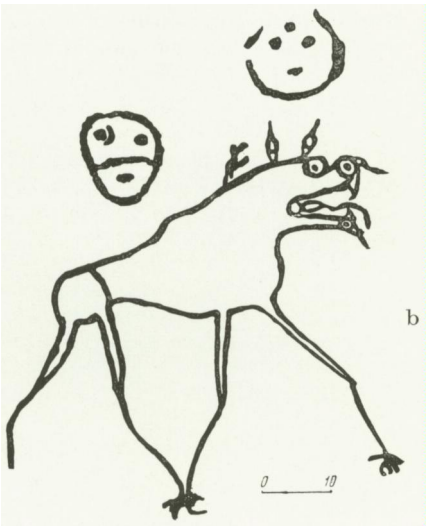
d

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PLATE III / IV – ESIN, *TÖS* AND *MONCUḴ*

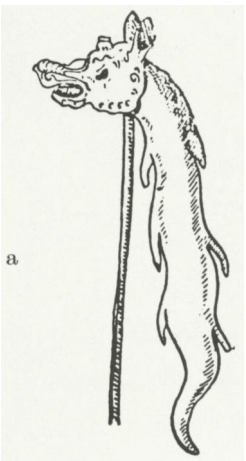
a, b Siberian petroglyphs of undermined date from the Haḳas-Ḳïrgïz area showing volves with astral emblems or *tamġa*. After Vadeskaya, figs 1, 2.





a Representation on the column of Marcus Aurelius of a totemic effigy taken in 167 (from the Marcomanni). (cf. pl. II c) After Trever "Serebriannoe naverŝhie", fig. 2.

b Silver mask with hole at the summit presumably used as flag-pole finial (cf. Uygur wolf-head pennon, pl. VII b), found in Western Siberia, now at the Ermitage. After Trever "Senmurv", fig. 1. Cf. the spiral motifs on the mask with the spiral and cloud motifs at the left proper upper corner are from the sarcophagus in the Orkun area of the Kök-Türk statesman Tonyukuk, from the first half of the eighth century cf also with decor of pl. IV C.



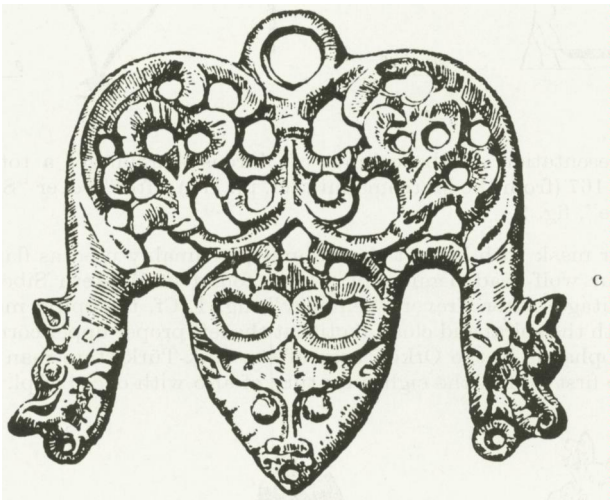


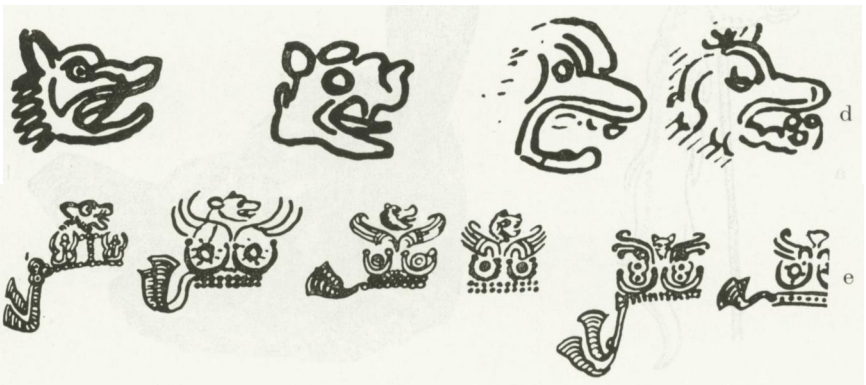
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c Bronze "a jour" plaque showing a dracontine arch with lupine heads, holding pearls and an apotropaic mask in the center, found in a Siberian tomb with turkish inscriptions attributed to the Ḳïrġïz and dated in the fifth to tenth centuries. After Kiselev, pl. LIX/9.

d Snarling wolf-heads countermarks, Göbl/KM 106, 107, 101 found on coins Göbl, Ems. 240/1, 4, 5, 6 and Em. 213, 214, 216 (similar crown design with Em. 208–210), minted in Zabulistan (Ġaznah) and all dated in the eighth century.

e Wolf-heads on crowns represented on Smith, vol. I/2, pl. XXV/1, Rodgers, coin 7604, after Göbl, Em. 208–210, 254, 256, attributed by Göbl, p. 25 to "Wu-San-Tigin-Sha," a "Tigin-sha" of the dynasty reigning over Kapisa, Gandhāra, Ġaznah, whose eponym was Böri Tigin (Wolf Tigin), who were of Kök-Türk stock according to Huei-Ch'ao in 726 (see our note 28) Göbl Em. 244, is dated by Göbl in the eight century and is of the type Vakhba considered Turkish (Girshman 43). Göbl Em. 246, from Zabulistan, dated in *ca.* the eight century, is related by Göbl to Em. 208–216 (Wu-san-Tigin-sha) Göbl Em. 255 is considered as a Shahi-Tigin coin and again attributed to "Wu-san-Tigin Sha".





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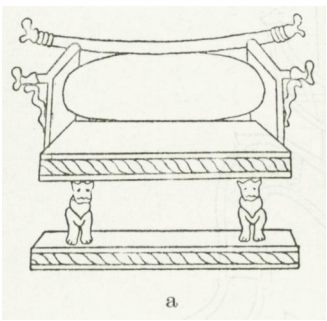
PLATE V – ESIN, *TÖS* AND *MONCUḴ*

a Kushan period throne showing a schematic motif of dracontine arch with *makara* ro *jalebha* heads. After Auboyer, pl. III.

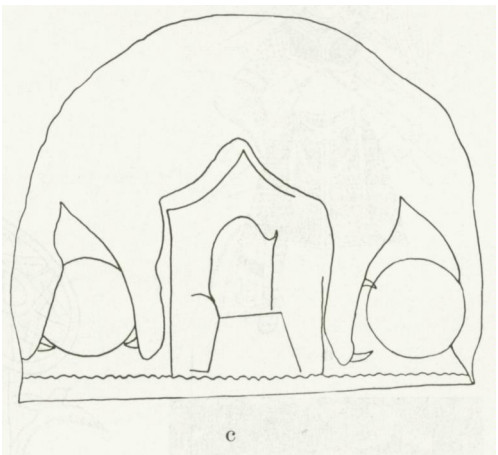
b Sculpture showing a *bodhisattva* grasping a schematic motif of dracontine arch with *makara* or *jalebha* heads, from cave 275 (118 m) of Tun-huang, bf + he.

c Dracontine arch with makara or jalebha heads, with a *tamġa* in the center, by the Turkish princely artist Yollu ğ Tigin, over the stele of Kül-Tigin (died 732). After Heikel, pl. I.

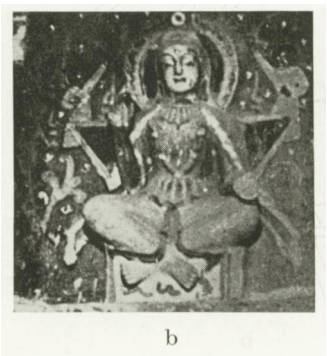
d Enthroned figure with royal *bedük börk* grasping one of a couple of schematic dragon-motifs, with heads of *makara* or *jalebha*, from Munčak-tepe. After G.A. Pugačenkova–L.I. Rempel', *Ridayuščiesya pamyatniki izobrazitel' nogo iskusstva Uzbekistana* (Taškent 1960), fig. 195.



a



c



b



d

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PLATE VI – ESIN, *TÖS* AND *MONCUḲ*

a Mural painting from Ḳïzïl, dated in the early Turkish period (sixth to eighth centuries) showing a *nāga-rājah* holding a totemic emblem with wolf-head which resembles the Uygur wolf-pennon. After Grünwedel, *Kultstätten*, ill. 287.

b Uyġur mural painting, from Murtuḳ, dated after the eighth century, showing the Turkish wolf-pennon (kindly indicated by Prof. von Gabain). After Grünwedel, *Kultstätten*, ill. 617.

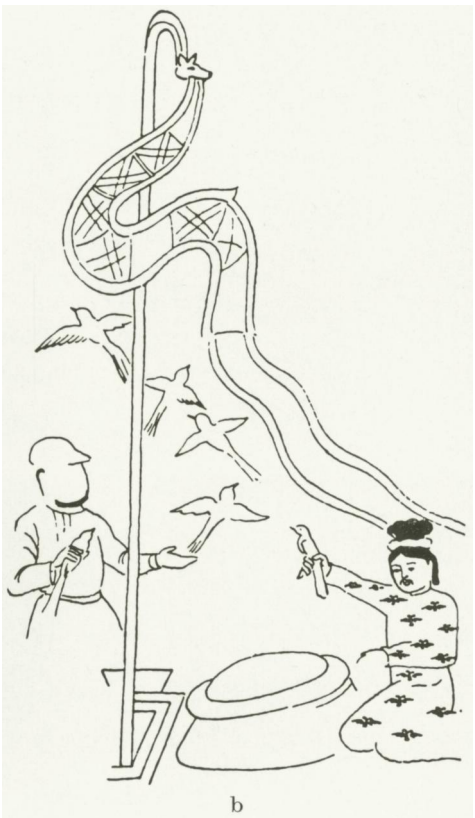
c Painting from Tun-huang, dated between the seventh and tenth centuries, showing a king of Tibet shaded by a bendel parasol ornamented with lupine-dracontine mask. After a Tun-huang guide (Peking 1964), postcard 34, (kindly indicated by Prof. von Gabain).



a



c



b

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PLATE VII – ESIN, *TÖS* AND *MONCUḲ*

a Fragment of Uyġur mural painting from Bezeklik, Temple IX, dated between the ninth and twelfth centuries, showing a pair of *Kök-luu* (celestial dragons) holding a green moncuk (Cintāmaṇī) with flaming red aureole. After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 32.

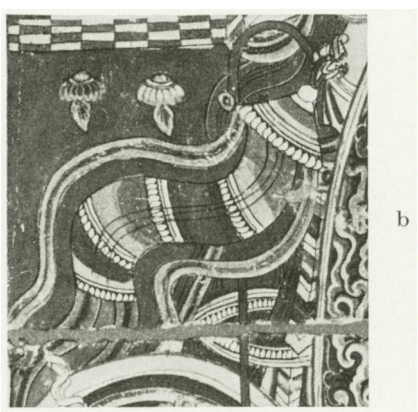
b Fragment of an Uygur mural painting from Bezeklik, temple IX, showing the presentation to a buddha of a banner whose Bended flag-pole ends in the mask of a *Kök-luu* (celestial dargon). After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 21.

c Fragment of illustrated turkish manuscript in Uyġur script found in the temple of the "Eighty-four Tantric *baḳši* (Buddhist master in Uyġur turkish)" in Kurutḳa (hills north of Turfan), dated later than the thirteenth century, showing a flag-pole finial, perhaps with double-dragon motif, with mask in Yüan type. III 7426 of the Turfan Collection, Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

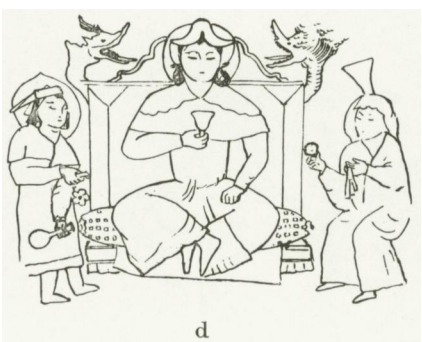
d Linear reproduction of a painting attributed to the Ilḫanid period, on fol. 60 v. of the Miscellany Album H. 2152. of Topkapı. The royal figure resembles the Timurid portrait with Uygur Turkish caption, of the Ilḫan Arġun. (Miscell. Album H. 2152, of Topkapı, fol. 32 v.). The dracontine arch on the throne shows masks of the Uygur *Kök-luu* type (cf. pl. VIIa).

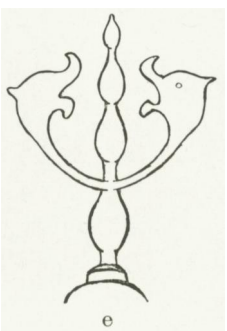
e Linear reproduction of the finial on Timur's banner on a painting showing Timur's battle against Toḳtamïš, on fol. 2 of the Miscell. Coll. h. 2152 of Topkapı.











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PLATE VIII – ESIN, *TÖS* AND *MONCUḲ*

a Serpentine arch with astral motif in the center on unidentified types of coin Göbl Em. 242, linked to Em. 244 (with wolf-head effigy: see pl. IVe) and Em. 245 (with the turkish titles Tarḳan and Tudun) from possibly the eighth century.

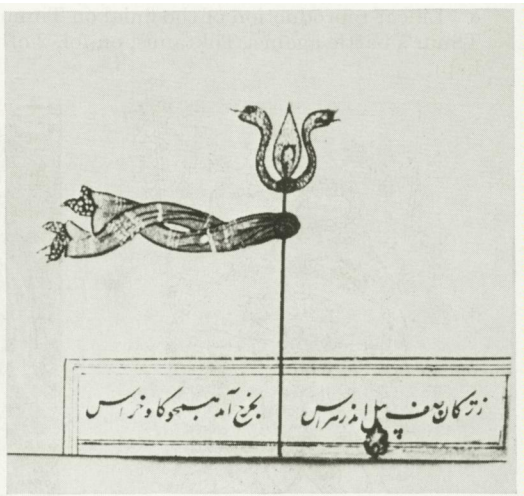
b The flag with finial in the form of a serpentine arch and a central lanceolate motif of the Turkish Ḫaḳanid king İlik Buġra Ḫan, on a painting of possibly Timurid period, on fol. 195 of the copy of Rašīd al-Dīn's History, H. 1654 of Topkapı.

c The flag of Timur, with finial in the form of a serpentine arch with a central *monçuḳ* with flaming halo, (cf "the pearl with flaming aureole" held by the pair of *Kök-luu* on the Uygur painting on pl. VIIa) on a painting dated 1540 by Maḥmūd Al-Kātīb b. Niẓām al-Haravī (Maḥmud Baḫši Uyġur: see Togan, *Istanbul miniatures*, p. 5), on fol. 113 of the *Timur-nāmah* H. 1594 of Topkapī.

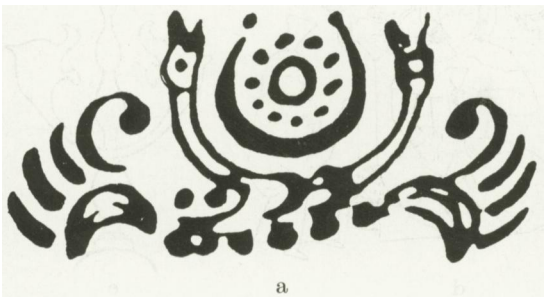
d The flag of the Caliph 'Alī with finial in the form of a serpentine arch and central trefoil motif mounted on a sphere, on an Ottoman painting of the sixteenth century Fuḍūlī's Ḥadīḳat al-su' adā, Bibl. Nationale, suppl. turc 1088, fol. 104. After I. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque* vol. I (Paris 1966), pl. XC.



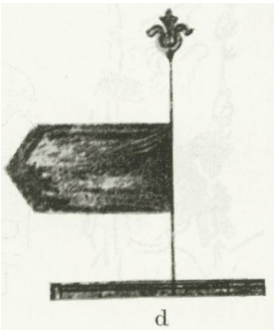
b



c



a



d

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PLATE IX – ESIN, *TÖS* AND *MONCUḲ*

a Flag-pole finial with crescent and sun and other astral emblems on Göbl, coin 109, 110.

b *Batraḳ* held by a warrior in a Ḳïrġïz Turkish petroglyph dated in the eight century, at Sulïk. After P. Artamonov, p. 210.

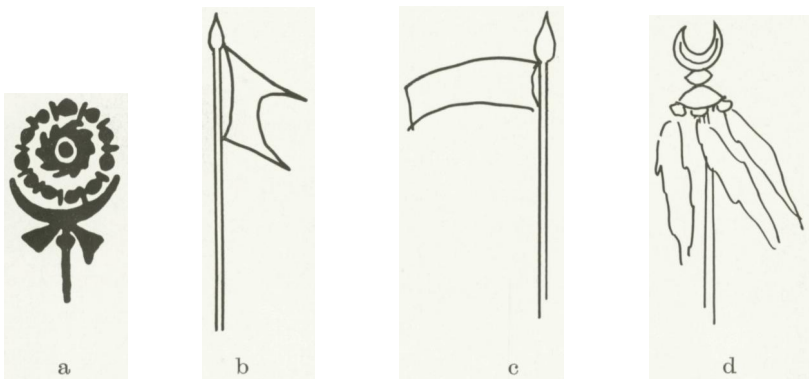
c *Batraḳ* (see pl. IX a) which may be the lance emblem of the dynasty on Göbl, Em. 250.

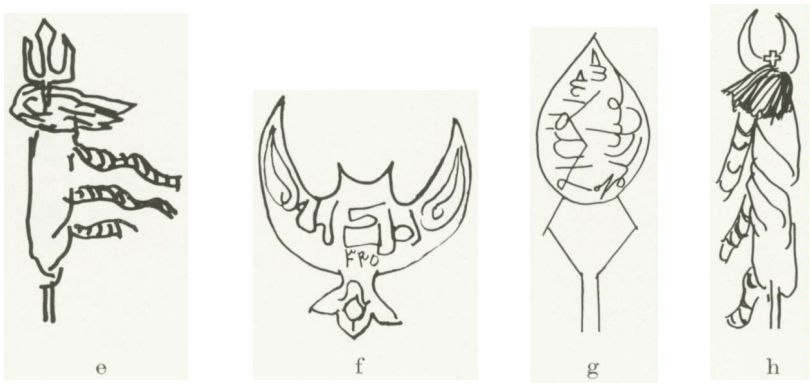
d, e Rolled flags with attached tuġ (tail-trophy) shown with representations of Basaman (Vaiśravona) in Uygur murals. After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pls. 33, 42.

f Bronze crescent inscribed in Arabic and dated 445 H./1052, possibly a flag-pole finial of the Ḫaḳanid period, from Ḫotan, Yo 00176 of the National Museum Delhi.

g Lanceolate *moncuḳ* on an early Ottoman white flag (1/3 of the Topkapı Museum). After Kurtoğlu, fig. 45.

h Ottoman tuġ with *māhče-moncuḳ*. After Kurtoğlu, fig. 43.





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